

THE
North American Phalanx,
AN
Historical and Descriptive Sketch
BY
CHARLES SEARS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY EDWARD HOWLAND.

PRESCOTT, WIS.
JOHN M. PRYSE, PUBLISHER.
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ERRATA.

The following corrections of typographical errors were made by Mr. Charles Sears in a copy of the Historical Sketch of the Phalanx sent to him:

P. 2, 3d paragraph from bottom, read "unitary" for "arbitrary."

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|-----------|---|---|---|-----------|----------------------------------|
| " 3, last | " | " | " | " | "Giles" for "Giley." |
| " 5, 8th | " | " | " | top, read | "constituted" for "constructed." |
| " 7, 6th | " | " | " | " | "members" for "numbers." |
| " 7, 7th | " | " | " | insert | "or both" after "capitalist." |
| " 8, 7th | " | " | " | read | "guaranties" for "quantities." |
| " 9, 3d | " | " | " | " | "sincerely" for "since." |
| " 9, 7th | " | " | " | " | "Starks" for "Starlls." |
| " 10, 7th | " | " | " | " | "over-charge" for "our change." |

A Word or Two of Introduction

IN PRESENTING to the *Credit Foncier* this sketch by Mr. Chas. Sears of the History of the Phalanx, it may not be amiss for me to preface it with a few remarks concerning its important value to us just at this juncture, while we are waiting, and gathering together our strength for the practical continuation in Mexico of the social experiment which was so successfully carried out by The North American Phalanx, during its corporate existence. In the letter to me accompanying its transmission Mr. Sears, in speaking from experience, advises us "as soon and as fully as possible to institute the serial organization in production, distribution and administration."

Most probably this advice will not have the force to the very large majority of the colonists that it has to me and to Mr. Sears himself. To enforce it he quotes the dictum, "The Series Distributes the Harmonies." This is as conclusive to me as it is to him. My knowledge of its force, however, is merely theoretical. I have never had even the smallest chance to practically apply it. To be sure, for the past twenty years or more, ever since I had the blessed privilege of reading Fourier and getting my mind saturated with his doctrines, I have always had hung up, fastened to the wall in my house, these mottoes, by him: "The Series Distributes the Harmonies" and "Attractions are Proportional to Destinies;" and hundreds of times have explained their significance to inquiring visitors whose attention has been struck by them. Until, however, Mr. Sears made this mention of the application of one of them, I had never thought of the possible practical application of them to the machinery of our daily lives.

They form the efficient epitaph carved upon Fourier's tomb, and it shall be my first care in Sinaloa to see that they are present in and about our homes in Sinaloa, together with the mottoes placed above our organ.

In his historical sketch Mr. Sears explains the practical way in which the serial method was made the basis of their industrial organization, and the success which it gave them. I am sure that his suggestion is of incalculable benefit to us, and that if we will study it out we will all of us become so convinced of it that we will lose no time in organizing ourselves upon the serial method as the first step before us.

Notice in his history that at first there was no attempt made to do this. The experience of the Phalanx will be our salvation if we follow it.

Whereas, if we enter upon the work of living, as the first settlers at the Phalanx did, it will be with us as it was with them, three months will not pass before we shall find as they found, "the president and his associate directors" will come to a dead-lock "respecting the business administration."

The North American Phalanx most fortunately was in relation

with some persons who had evidently an accurate knowledge of and a confident faith in the efficacy of a serial organization. Who these persons were I do not know, though I am pretty certain Mr. Sears was one of them.

To my mind the practical adoption of this method in every way in which we can apply it, is all that we want to fully equip us for our work. We will find in practice that it is the only method for uniting harmoniously the principles of democracy with all that is good in the one-man power.

In all industrial enterprises to-day the workers are supposed to be insubordinate unless they meekly and unquestionably submit to the boss, though he may be only an incompetent tyrant.

I believe that, by the introduction and practical operation of the serial method of organization in our enterprise, we shall make a vindication of association that will do much to remedy the sad tendency so rapidly working to corrupt and destroy all the progress we have ever made toward the establishment of democratic principles.

There are several other points suggested by Mr. Sears' sketch I wished to make, but I shall defer the discussion of them until we meet personally, calling attention only to the points of comparison between our movement and theirs.

Mr. Sears gives us an account of the manner in which the movement resulting in the Phalanx began; our subscribers have been found entirely by their attraction to the organization advocated by the paper issued at Hammonton. The education of our subscribers; their discontent with the present condition of social affairs, and their belief that it is quite possible, by the adoption of such social methods of organizations as we have proposed from the first to enter upon a new and progressive life, fit them better for success than were the persons who gathered first to organize The North American Phalanx.

But in addition we have the opportunity to use the experience of the Phalanx and to commence with the important addition of the system of serial organization, which they arrived at only after their business administration had come to a dead-lock, and fortunately the knowledge of the serial method of organization was presented to them and accepted after the fullest examination.

Let us, while waiting for the call to move, spend the time in studying the matter of serial organization, so that when we meet in Sinaloa we shall be ready to understandingly set about it.

For the purpose of finding out about it, this history by Mr. Sears is sufficient. Of course none of us, as far as I know, have had anything but, at most, a theoretical knowledge of it, but we can come together, if we feel its importance, ready to take hold of it and organize it for immediate application as soon as we are on the ground.

Another word concerning our position financially compared with that of the persons who organized the Phalanx.

They started with a debt upon their place.

Let us on no consideration incur a debt. I do not fear that there will be any need of it, but, anyhow, let us resolve to do with what we have.

EDWARD HOWLAND.

The North American Phalanx

AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH

—BY—

CHARLES SEARS.

1879.

INTRODUCTORY.

ALBERT BRISBANE in 1843 published in the New York *Tribune* a series of articles on the reconstruction of society; contrasting the present industrial anarchy through conflict of interests, waste in production and distribution, disorderly competition, and the increasing servitude of the masses under the hiring system of labor, with a society organized on the basis of Joint Stock Property; Co-operative Labor; Association of Families; Mutual Guarantees; Honors According to Usefulness; Integral Education; Equitable Distribution; Unity of Interests. These articles contained a popular exposition of the science of society discovered by that gifted man, Charles Fourier.

Here was a genius who had scanned the course of time and made a chart of societary evolution, from Edenism to the close of man's career on the planet, distinguishing thirty-two periods.

He made an analysis exhibiting a comprehensive history of the human race, condensed into formulæ and tables, containing the characteristics of each form of society from the first to modern civilization, which ranks as the fifth, and through three succeeding stages, as sixth, named Guarantism, (which is a system of Unitary Insurance, including guaranty of the security of capital; guaranty of remunerative employment to the laborer; the dismissal to the ranks of the producers of useless middle men—in a single phrase, it is a system of organized production and distribution with mutual guaranties.)

The seventh, designated as Simple Association, or association of classes, as farmers by themselves, artizans by themselves, manufacturers by themselves, etc.

This form of society retains all the organic features of Guarantism and, besides these, it includes the association of families and the organization of domestic labor.

In this society, wage labor is fully abolished; the laborer is co-proprietor, self-employed and shares proceeds.

The next term in the series, the first octave in the gamut of

societary evolution, he names Compound Association, or Harmonism.

In it are associated all classes, all pursuits and all degrees of fortune.

Every interest is provided for, by an organization which embraces all details of production and distribution; and a system of natural and integral education is instituted—that is, a complete system of physical, mental and emotional development, intimately connected with daily pursuits, provided for; that art and the science which underlies art may be taught together; that theory and practice may go hand in hand and that the individual may have the command of his whole personal power and enjoy the conditions of expressing it.

The industries, education and recreations are carried on by series of groups freely formed, each group undertaking the conduct of some detail of production, distribution, education, etc.

Taste is regarded as an original endowment of the soul, hence a permanent motor and an indication of capacity; taste or preference, therefore, dominates in the selection of pursuits. A man having himself on his own side works with more force, greater skill and better effect than one who works against his inclinations. The former is an harmonious unity; the latter is divided against himself.

Each individual, in the course of a year, may take part in the labors of a dozen, twenty or more different groups and in widely separated series; and by this means of diversity of tastes and change of occupation there is a complete interlocking of interests; perfect provision for the performance of every function, and for the healthful exercise of all the powers of the individual.

With the proper endowments, this organization, this education, this unity of interests, counterpoised by this plenary development of personality, is the frame-work or anatomy and the physiology of society in full health, or social harmony. It is the institution of the Divine Social Code, in the first or lowest degree.

The number necessary to maintain the full activity of all interests, including education and amusements, and comprising a scale of characters and every variety of tastes is about one thousand people of both sexes and all ages.

This is the societary and the political unit or township. There, as this order should more and more prevail, would be grouped in larger and still larger combinations to form complete counties, states and nations, and the nations finally grouped under one arbitrary administration of the whole globe. This will be the universal institution of the Divine Social Code.

Thus there will be no more wars. Industrial armies will be organized, to work under general plans, for the reclamation of earth's waste places, such as irrigation of deserts and reclothing them with verdure; the drainage of marshes and subjecting them to cultivation and forestry. These measures will eradicate some of the permanent scourges we are afflicted with, as cholera, plague, typhus, yellow fever, etc.

These legions of industry—armies of construction—would also steadily push cultivation toward the poles, and by planting belts of timber about the globe, protect the people and their crops and

cattle. This will enlarge the area of production and in some degree modify climates.

Another unitary labor will be a comprehensive system for improving the means of travel and transportation by water and rail, to promote commerce and the free intercommunication of all peoples. By these means man is to fulfil his function of overseer of the globe, and to improve and maintain in its best condition every part of it.

This was a new revelation. Here were ideas to work for. Here were aims to inspire worthy ambitions.

Our civilization with its disorders is not the end, but only a comparatively short stage in the growth of society; evil is not to be eternal, but only a temporary incident of growth from germs and due to the immaturity of globes and peoples. Man is to study the laws of Divine Order and institute accordingly, the same as he learns the laws of personal health and conforms to them.

These ideas were food to the famishing, or as westerly breezes and crystal waters to the fever smitten. A tide of enthusiasm swept over the land and up rose association after association, in the northern and western states during a period of about six years. The energy of the impulse to organize new associations subsided after 1848, but the interest in the great movement has revived and is, perhaps, greater now than at any former period; but is narrower in its scope, being limited mostly to co-operative production and co-operative distribution. The association of families, the enfranchisement of women as well as the laborer, the integral education, still await their institution.

Among the earlier associations organized was that of

THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX,

Of Monmouth county, New Jersey.

A general prospectus was issued from the city of New York, inviting the formation of local organizations, and when a sufficient number of subscribers should be obtained, they were to combine numbers and means and begin practical operations. The prospectus was signed by Albert Brisbane, Horace Greeley, Osborn McDaniel, Edward Gile, J. T. Smith, Frederick Grain and others. Pursuant to this call The Albany Branch of The North American Phalanx was organized in the summer of 1843. About twenty families became interested in the movement, of whom twelve subscribed the working constitution and joined the practical movement. The expectation was entertained that a number of branch organizations would be formed and a large capital would be subscribed. In this we were disappointed. The Albany branch was the only branch formed under the New York call, though families and individuals from other parts of the state, some from the west and some from New England, joined the movement; and when the original subscriptions to the capital stock were all in, we had a little less than seven thousand dollars to begin with. This was discouraging. With this small sum the land could not be bought and endowed; debt would be incurred and difficulties and hindrance in business would inevitably occur. Debt was distasteful and contrary to our purpose.

Nevertheless, the determination to go forward was not changed. An estate of about seven hundred acres near Red Bank, in Monmouth county, New Jersey, was purchased and taken possession of in September, 1843. The price of the domain was \$14,000, of which sum \$5,000 was paid down, and the remainder secured by a mortgage. This left \$2,000 for buildings, teams, implements and working capital.

The soil had been exhausted by slave husbandry. It was, however, gradually renovated by the liberal application of the celebrated "green sand" which was abundant on the place.

Half a dozen families entered upon the domain in the autumn of 1843, finding scant accommodation in the two houses on the place; and during the winter they put up an additional building for the remainder of the party coming the ensuing spring. During that year twenty families had assembled, making, with single people, a population of over one hundred, subsequently increased to an average of about one hundred and fifty, including children; and made up of mechanics, merchants and professional men and their families, with a fair proportion of single people of both sexes.

Most of the heads of families had a knowledge of farming, which was important, as the land was the principal means of support during the earlier years. Subsequently mechanical pursuits and some light manufactories for women were introduced, and a mill was built which did custom work for the neighborhood and plain and fancy milling for the city.

A fair proportion of the land was appropriated to fruit culture, including the peach, apple, pear, grape, quince, etc., and the apple plantations are still among the finest orchards in the state. During parts of the fifth and sixth year a commodious mansion and warehouse were built and other improvements were made from time to time as means were at command.

On taking possession of the new mansion a restaurant was established. The fine saloon, 39x70x16 feet, was set with a row of tables on each side, and families and associates, grouped according to their likings, could consult their tastes and their purses, the number being sufficient to provide economically a great variety of dishes. The average cost per capita of table, laundry and room rent was about two dollars a week, sometimes less.

DIET AND REGIMEN

Took the place of medicine. After the first three years a doctor's medical prescription was an almost unknown occurrence. During the thirteen years of associated life there were but nine deaths from all causes, including accidents, in a population made up of the usual proportion of all ages, from infancy to advanced years, and in number from 120 to 150 people. It is the lowest death rate I have seen recorded.

Pervading this social and industrial life was a closely graded

ORGANIZATION.

The form of it was that announced by Fourier as the mode of distributing forms and forces throughout the universe, namely:

SERIES OF GROUPS.

Each department in the association was conducted by a serie

and each serie was constituted of as many groups as there were divisions of functions in the department, so that each detail of industry was the special charge of the group.

At the beginning of each year a general plan was agreed upon of the kinds and extent of operations in the various departments deemed desirable to carry on during the year. The plan was posted on the bulletin board and the members wrote their names under the titles of the industries they desired to engage in. If any important function was not sufficiently provided for in the first instance, volunteers were obtained so that nothing should be neglected for want of a suitable provision of labor force. In some cases men were hired to supplement the force of members. Six to eight such were employed. This was the first step; the next was for each group to elect its chief or manager, who was accountable for the proper conduct of the detail undertaken by the group, under the general direction of the council of the serie of which he was a constituent. To illustrate:

The agricultural serie was subdivided into four principal groups, as:

Farming,
Market gardening,
Orchard,
Experimental.

Each group was constructed of three to seven or more members. The chiefs of these groups constituted a council of the department of agriculture. This council elected its chief, who was the general manager of the department and presiding officer of the its council. The other departments had the same constitution. There were six principal departments and corresponding series, as:

1. The agricultural, described above.
2. The stock serie, having care of domestic animals, the teaming establishment and the dairy.
3. The manufacturing serie, including the milling and mechanical industries, the canning of fruits and vegetables, and the household manufactures, the latter conducted principally by women.
4. The domestic serie, including all labors in the preparation and service of food, the laundry, dormitory, etc.; nine groups.
5. The educational serie, having care of the nursery, school, classes engaged in special studies, and the library and reading room.
6. The festal serie. Amusements as well as work were regarded of sufficient importance to be provided for by methodical organization. Weekly entertainments of some sort were usually given throughout the year; in summer concerts and an occasional excursion to the sea-shore; later, dramatic representations, dancing, debates on current public questions, school exhibitions, etc. The amusements were free, participated in by old and young and, with the exception of the excursion parties, were at home. Our young people were not scouring the country on winter nights in all weathers.

For unclassified functions three groups were formed. One such looked after the scattering of rubbish and occasional displacement of implements incident to pressure in shipping stuff and receiving

goods, and other contingent work. It was named the Contingent group. Another undertook the performance of repugnant functions not otherwise provided for; and another detailed one or more of its members to receive and care for visitors.

By means of this thorough organization responsibilities were distributed and all work and business were provided for. Each detail of labor was of sufficient magnitude to employ a group or at least a functionary, and when the regular work was done the laborer could come in, bathe, dress for supper and afterward spend his evening in society, in the reading room or at study, the chiefs only having to arrange for the next day's work.

In this way the never-ending chores, which are the real burden of farm life, more harrassing than the day's work afield, were almost done away with. The sub-division of domestic work afforded alike relief to women, where work, in the simple family system, "is never done."

True, in the earlier periods of such movements, before organization becomes well settled, or for lack of numbers to complete organizations, gaps or breaks occur which require a steady eye and hand and purpose to fill them or make connections; but with a sufficient number of people some are usually found who have the necessary devotion and diversity of gifts to supply deficiencies and help the mechanical running. Most of the members belonged to a number of groups whose labors succeeded each other; and in cases of emergency the forces of several series could be concentrated upon one detail to save a crop or bring up an arrear of work.

Every evening there was an assemblage of heads of departments, named the Industrial Council, to arrange the distribution of forces for the labor of the next day. If teams were wanted or additional force required at any point the want was provided for; and the labor bulletin, posted in the main hall, announced the arrangement.

The

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

Was interwoven with the Industrial Organization. As explained above, each serie had its chief, who was its industrial manager and president of its council. A late revision of the constitution, or more properly by-laws, provided that each chief of a serie should be, *ex officio*, a member of the central council. This body was at once the legislature and the executive council of the association.

The president, secretary and treasurer were elected by popular vote. Constitutional questions were determined by the same vote.

By these means suffrage was universal, without distinction of sex, and women necessarily held office because deemed by their associates competent to manage a department of business and to represent them in legislation and in the councils.

There was, therefore, a two-fold reason at the foundation of the council, as each member of it was not only the representative of a constituency, but also of some economic or social interest.

Suffrage for representation in the councils was regulated by the serial order; each member of a group, if old enough to be a regular working member, was a voter within the limits of the

group, and the voters could not be otherwise than well informed respecting the character and capacity of their representatives, for constituent and representative were in daily association in daily pursuits.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

At the beginning of each year a primary award for labor and for the use of capital was fixed upon as a basis of division of proceeds. Five per cent for the use of capital and a medium rate of a dollar for a day of ten hours' ordinary labor were the latest rates.

The various kinds of labor were classified according to their usefulness, attractiveness and repulsiveness, and corresponding prices fixed for performing them. Works of usefulness occupied the middle place; those which were necessarily exhausting or repugnant were rated highest, and the light and the attractive work stood lowest in price.

A scale of rates for individual performance ranged through two octaves—that is, eight degrees above and eight degrees below the medium rate of one dollar a day. The value of a degree was five cents an hour; and each degree of variation from the standard rate indicated a special, definite quality of performance—some excellence or the lack of it.

The descending scale ran down to rates for children, the ascending scale recognized executive capacity and skill.

Within the limits agreed upon, each group rated its own numbers. Performance, not sex or age, was the reason of the rate; and frequently the same person would receive different rates in different groups, according to the character of his performance of different labors. In case of dissatisfaction with the rating of the group, an appeal to the council of the serie by the dissatisfied member was the remedy.

At the end of the year the value of the year's products was ascertained and a final distribution of the proceeds was made to each member ratably on his or her earnings at the rates of the primary award, whether as laborer or capitalist, as most of them, to some extent, were.

Five per cent as the basis of dividends was a reduced rate, but was regarded as still too high. The late Edward Kellogg, author of "A New Monetary System," urged this point strongly, saying that the rate of property increase in the state of New York, as shown by the state register, for a period of ten years was less than two per cent a year; that the association could not withdraw its labors or products from the influence of the general laws which regulate distribution, and that so high a rate as five per cent as a basis of dividends would absorb the property. Probably he was right. We should have more than doubled production, or lowered the rate of dividends to prevent the absorption of the property by vested capital.

REPRESENTATIVE MONEY.

A leading aim from the beginning was to make cash settlements as fully as possible, and so abolish debt trade within the association. This was not easy to accomplish until the association instituted

a domestic currency. Many of the state bank notes, then in circulation, were at a discount; and besides, the supply was inadequate and irregular. After a few years of varying inconvenience a currency was issued with which all domestic exchanges were made.

The labor, board and other supply accounts were settled and balances were paid monthly, at the rates of the primary award.

The currency was of the ordinary size and general appearance of a bank note, but was ornamented with special devices, the central figure being Fourier's symbol of universal unity.

It was not a promise to pay, for its text was the name of the association and the denomination; besides these the number, date and signatures of the three officers and the devices and mottoes were all the bill contained; but it was an evidence of ownership of so much of the property of the association as its face represented. It was Representative Money, issued only because value had been produced; and it was receivable for all claims against the association; and it could be invested in the Capital Stock.

From the fact of prompt circulation, but more especially from the fact that the office was a general clearing-house for the departments and individuals so that only balances were paid, less than six dollars per capita or about one per cent of the value of the property of the association, sufficed to liquidate all balances in domestic exchange.

The association, as will have been noted, comprised in its purpose and in its organization something more than joint stock property, co-operative labor, equitable distribution of products and and unity of property interests. It included these and it associated families in social, industrial and educational enfranchisement as well, for it purposed and provided in its organization for the guaranty of a home, society, education and remunerative employment to all its members. It adopted the full octave of institutions of the eighth period, which includes

THE UNITY OF ALL INTERESTS.

It was, in fact, a complete commonwealth, embracing all the interests of the state, differing only in magnitude. Indeed, it might be deemed a model state in miniature, especially in its political structure, its guarantees, its organization of labor in all departments, its abolition of the hiring system and its representative money superseding debt in exchange. To suppose that this organization of labor, this social order, with its system of education, these quantities, were instituted and maintained without patient, persistent effort, would be a mistake.

In ordinary industrial enterprises the projectors usually find full employment for their best judgment and energies to accomplish successful establishments. Here was not only an industry to create, suited to markets, but industries—suitable employments for a society.

Then the relation of laborers to each other, comprising men, women and children, must be adjusted that each should have equitable compensation for service rendered; and the vexed question of the relation of capitalist and laborer must have an acceptable settlement.

Then the delicate relations of members in the social state, em-

bracing all the concerns of the individual, of the family and of the society; how recognize the just and only the just claims of each—social, moral, religious—and still maintain harmony?

The experiment, for certainly it was an experiment, was perhaps hazardous. The members were from the ordinary walks of society; none had experience in closer intimacy than ordinary family and business relations. They came together, self moved to institute anew, believing that man was made for society and that there could not be a break in the chain of law, but that constantly with the economic reasons in favor of combined action and with the growing tendency toward organic forms in the larger interests of man, and supreme in nature, social order must also depend finally upon association.

OPPOSITION.

Friends since attached to the old dispensation expressed their fears that such attempts would end in disappointment and loss of time, means and position. The press, secular and religious, had little to say in favor of the social movement, but much against it. Those engaged in it were denounced as destructives, infidels, free-lovers, lunatics; the tendency if not the purpose of the movement itself was to undermine the foundations of religious, social and moral order.

The Shakers of Waterlet, N.Y., whom we visited to observe their economic devices and processes in domestic affairs and to receive such suggestions respecting social administration as they might be willing to communicate, predicted our early dissolution. The family sentiment, if nothing else, would break it up. The women would have irreconcilable differences about their children. The people of the neighborhood were distrustful and stood aloof for several years.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

This extreme pressure did not shake our purpose or dampen our ardor, nor did it prevent the development of faction within.

After taking possession of the domain, three months had not expired before the president and his associate directors came to a dead-lock respecting the business administration.

The constitution provided that the president should have the general superintendence of the affairs of the association. This the president, Mr. Allen Worden, construed to mean a grant of authority. In this view he was sustained by his friend, Dr. Otis Jenks, a director. The other directors on the ground, Messrs. Bucklin, Starlls and Dwelle, supposed that consultations would be orderly, and that a common agreement should determine questions of administration.

With these differences of judgment as to measures, and differences of opinions respecting the distribution of administrative powers, business, other than daily routine, stopped. Fortunately this occurred in the winter when little could be done beyond provision for daily wants. Beside producing social discomfort, it only postponed consideration of plans for the coming year.

An appeal was made to the directors remaining in Albany, and in a general meeting, called to consider the matter, a delegation of

two directors was appointed to visit the domain and, if possible, effect a reconciliation of differences and settle plans of business.

This was about the beginning of the year 1844. The delegates went immediately to the domain and heard the full statements of all parties; and the end of the second day after their arrival, they called a general meeting and submitted the outline of the serial organization, as the true method of order. This was discussed quite fully. Questions were asked bearing on all points of this form of organization and as to its practical operation under existing circumstances. The explanations were satisfactory and the method was adopted.

The number on the place had increased to about forty, and three series were organized at once. The chiefs of groups and series met from time to time, until they matured a plan of operations for the year; and then met every evening to distribute forces for the next day; and from that time forward there was no break nor discord in the administration. Each department was represented in the Executive council; the wants of all of them were known and were considered in the light of existing resources and of a common interest.

As business expanded new series were formed and existing series added new groups and enlarged old ones, so as to maintain methodical provision for growing interests.

These measures displeased our strict constructionist president. He said they were instituted to take power out of his hands. Apparently he had not entertained a conception of the serial method, nor of the real meaning and purpose of the association. He neglected attendance of council meetings, and within the year withdrew, predicting that the association would dissolve and scatter in a twelvemonth.

His friend, Dr. Jerks, went out the next year, on invitation; the only instance in which a member was requested to leave.

Time books were prepared for each group, and each member recorded his or her time of labor every evening, under its proper division. These books were kept in the office and open to inspection. No difficulty occurred from our change of time. If any were disposed to overcharge, the members of his group would know it directly.

In this matter, as well as in the general affairs of life in the association, if in any case other incentive to rectitude were wanting, publicity and public sentiment were the sufficient correctives.

THE TABLES.

During the first two or three years a rigid economy was necessary. We had a common table and the bill of fare was rather scanty. We had dietarians of various stripes—those who simply wanted a supply of substantial food; others who were delicate and required fruits, vegetarians proper, Christians, members of a small sect in England who, from religious scruples, avoided the use of everything which cost the sacrifice of life.

Under the circumstances a satisfactory provision for these varied tastes could not be made. The Christians and straight vegetarians formed a coalition and demanded provision for their use of fruits, eggs and cream as an equivalent for the animal food pro-

vided for the flesh-eaters; and they made quite a disturbance for some weeks. The Christians said nothing of their peculiar views before joining the association, but afterward the chief spokesman was active in propagating them. At the end of one of his harangues in the public hall one evening, in which he denounced the barbarism and brutality of slaughtering animals and eating their carcasses, someone said: "I observe that you wear a fur hat; you have on a suit of woollen clothing; you wear leather boots; and on frosty mornings I have seen buckskin gloves on your hands. How do you reconcile your wearing of these with your religious scruples against the use of anything which costs the sacrifice of life?"

As a conclusion he was treated with the story of the Indian prince who was horrified on discovering the world of life on a dried fig, revealed by the microscope. This sally undermined the position of the malcontents and they ultimately concluded they, as well as some of the rest, must suffer some privations until the circumstances of the association should improve.

Another unhandsome feature was developed, also attributable to the fact of a common table; for it existed after supplies became more abundant. The children grew reckless in appropriating food beyond their want and wasting it to a degree that was offensive; much the same as occurs at boarding schools, notwithstanding careful supervision.

All these questions—special diet, of orderly behavior at the table, of economy in the use of food—were completely settled by instituting the

RESTAURANT.

Each then selected the food that suited him best and paid for only what he ordered. When brought to consider their needs the people selected their food with more care. This observance of actual requirements was perhaps as potent an agency as any in maintaining health. Waste was reduced to a minimum—less than that of most ordinary families.

With the full supply of vegetables and fruits, which the association produced as soon as they could be matured, the consumption of animal food diminished relatively; pork dropped out of use almost entirely.

RELATIVE RATES FOR LABOR.

In 1853 the mechanics made formal complaint that the rates of award for their labor were less than current rates outside, and not more than farm labor; and that besides being unjust, the higher outside rates were a premium offered to skilled mechanics to leave the association, and also prevented such from joining it.

The matter was referred to a committee to consider.

In their report the committee admit that the wages of skilled mechanics outside were higher than rates of award within; and claimed that the association adopted a different rule of awards from that current in society at large; that this was done with deliberation and from conviction that the compensations outside were not equitable; and especially the discriminations against women, which did not exist in the association; that these things had been stated in the beginning as reasons for adopting a different rule

more equitable; that the action of the association had uniformly been accordant with this declaration and conviction; that skill in agriculture was quite as important as skill in the mechanic arts, and that it costs as much to attain, and deserved equal recognition; that wages outside were simply *wages*, of the hireling, and covered all the guaranties the mechanic could claim, and were held to be a full equivalent for higher cost of living, loss of time and misfortunes; whereas, in the association the rates were a basis of award for sharing proceeds as co-operator, and covered guaranties of remunerative employment, a desirable home, good society, education, franchises, some of them not attainable elsewhere at any price.

ANOTHER ASSOCIATION.

About this time one of the wealthier stockholders, living in the city of Brooklyn, projected an association near Perth Amboy, in New Jersey, intended more especially as a select society of literary people, artists and people of means and leisure. Relatives of the projector, living at the Phalanx, joined the new movement, taking with them some of the disaffected mechanics and some others, some of whom found employment in preparing the grounds and building the edifice. A handsome brown stone structure, overlooking the river Raritan, was erected; the grounds were tastefully laid out, and industries were to be connected with the social establishment.

This attempt demonstrated nothing in the way of social industrial organization, except the desire for them. The people attracted to the movement were too few in number to sustain the cost; and the effort to found industries was unsuccessful. After a couple of years the main buildings were occupied as a school under the management of Theodore D. Weld; later as a military academy, later still as a summer boarding-house. The place was named Eagleswood.

SECTARIANISM.

The religious views of a majority of the association might be characterized as liberal; and although there were some who adhered to orthodox forms of worship, yet, with sufficient numbers, the associated life tended greatly to modify the asperities of sectarian bigotry. As now remembered, the following named denominations were represented: Universalist, Unitarian, Swedenborgian, or New Church, Baptist, Presbyterian, Jewish, Quaker, Episcopalian, Christian, Shaker and Skeptics.

The bible and its teachings were topics of common discussion, and always in a spirit of tolerance; but sectarian doctrines were rarely urged; and never provoked heated debate, until as late as 1853, after the association had existed ten years.

Then a somewhat prominent man who, in addition to other professional duties, ministered to a small sectarian congregation in the vicinity of New York, with some friends of his and a brother recently received into the association, undertook to make the association a basis of missionary enterprise. This party planned the movement and attempted to execute it, apparently with the undoubted expectation that the association would accept them as

its religious teachers. This assumption was offensive to many of the members, especially to the radicals; and at the first meeting some of the latter catechised the preacher with such plainness that he delivered only a part of his message. Ill-feeling was engendered in both sides; and the missionary party retired. Some sharp correspondence ensued, from which the following extracts will show the position of the association respecting religious questions:

"I received the enclosed letter from Marcus Spring, who requested me to co-operate with himself and others at the two phalanxes in sustaining a preacher. * * * I shall write to Mr. Spring that it is not my opinion that religious culture or teaching will be allowed, certainly at one of the associations; and I would advise all persons who have any regard for the religion of the bible and who do not wish to have their feelings outraged by a total want of common courtesy, to keep entirely away—at least from the North American." [From the letter of E. Parmly.]

From the reply: * * "Universal unity—that is to say, the unity of man with God, or religious unity; the unity of man with man, or social unity; the unity of man with nature, or material unity * * that, through the agency of such institutes, (see formulæ of eight institutes on p. 1) man will become fully enfranchised and endowed with the primary conditions of attaining to any possible growth.

"For presenting these formulæ and urging the organization of society in a practical way, in conformity with the dictates of humanity and common wisdom, the advocates of association have been denounced by the press of professedly religious bodies and other advocates of conservatism, as destructives who would sap the foundations of morals and overthrow institutions and relations held among men as most sacred. * * * Our silence before the public respecting ourselves secured us in a measure from public calumny, or specific discourtesy, but did not quite suffice to protect us from the customary officiousness of busy sectaries, who professed not to understand how a people could associate without adopting some sectarian profession of religious faith—some partisan form of religious observance.

"In vain we urge that our institutions were religious; that here, before their eyes, was made real and practical in daily life, and established as a fixed societary feature, a fraternity which the church in all times has held as an ideal; that here the rule: "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you," is made possible in the only way, namely: by organization and social guaranties which uphold the just claims of every member.

"In vain we showed that in the matter of private belief we did not propose to interfere, but in this respect held the same relation of a body to its constituent members that the state does to its citizens; that tolerance was our proper course and must continue to be; that to allow our organization to be taken possession of as an agency to push sectarian constructive doctrine would be an impossible descent for us; and that from time to time various parties have urged their private views upon us and whenever they wished, have, by an arrangement, had the use of room and such audience

as they could attract. But never until the past summer has there been such persistent effort to press upon us private observance as to excite much attention; and for the first time in our history there arose, through a reprehensible effort, a public discussion of religious dogmas, and to our regret and annoyance the usual uncharitableness was exhibited and has since been expressed to us."

After the subsidence of this irruption the association resumed its usual quietude of unsectarianism.

DISCIPLINE—CRITICISM.

Soon after assembling, the people manifested the spirit of criticism. The usual neighborhood gossip was intensified. A story or hint derogatory to personal character or conduct had prompt circulation and, because of closer contact, come home sooner to the originator.

This at one time became quite annoying, so much so that it invited grave consideration.

In discussing the matter it was suggested that a "prohibitory tariff" against criticism be enacted, or that "free trade" in it be allowed—let it do its perfect work and cure itself.

To prohibit criticism would have been impossible—except, perhaps, under authoritative religious denomination. Nor, if practicable, would prohibition be desirable, for criticism is a means of refinement, which cannot be dispensed with. It induces care in the cultivation of manners; research for improved methods, processes, devices. Its shafts are leveled against imperfections; and the only question is whether it shall be simply destructive, or shall promote improvement.

This will depend upon the character of the people. If they have not rectitude and humanity enough to establish and maintain a wholesome public opinion criticism will destroy the association.

The conclusion arrived at was to accept

FREE CRITICISM AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

The destructive phase lasted something like two years, during which time there occurred several quarrels. These, however, were quietly settled. With two or three exceptions, criticism was never malignant, but searching and purgative. It tested the temper of the members and determined their motives. Those who were content to accept their good through the good of the commonwealth proved to be a majority; and those in whom personal considerations were foremost, those who were not robust enough to open their daily life to public observation, gradually worked out.

After this sifting process, the association entered upon what may properly be deemed the

HARMONIC PHASE OF CRITICISM.

A tone of courtesy pervaded intercourse and criticism was usually implied in some pleasantry rather than directly in the form of censure or complaint. It was usually prompt to the occasion and without reserve—a light raillery which probed a weakness and left no permanent sting, but rather stimulated effort to gain strength; a delinquency in performance, a breach of courtesy exposed—perhaps caricatured, but in good temper, and dropped

with the occasion. Pretense, shams, were short lived in that frank atmosphere. The result was manifested in increasing attention to every detail of industry, in devising improved processes and in the refinement of manners; and, notwithstanding the indulgence of great freedom of speech, no resentments were cherished.

A sound, safe public opinion was established and proved to be a sufficient discipline. Indeed, this was potential from the beginning, otherwise the association would have dissolved in its early stage; but it was less apparent until the more incongruous characters were eliminated. The prediction of the Shakers that the family sentiment would break up the association was not verified. The current proverb that "no home is large enough for two families," did not hold true of larger numbers. After the first two years and when the association got into good working order, there was less domestic discord than occurs in most ordinary households, although there were more than twenty families, and part of the time between thirty and forty children.

The nursery and school, together with more or less remunerative employment for the larger children, relieved the family of most of the care of the young.

Besides this, the youngsters formed their own corporations to execute their own enterprises, especially in the way of amusements, as expeditions to forest and stream, experiments in woodcraft, camp life, etc. They were strong enough in point of numbers to assert, in some measure, the proper life of childhood and youth; and it was only necessary to recognize this fact, by allowing them the fullest liberty consistent with order and good behavior, to secure their good-will and hearty co-operation in measures tending to these ends. They in good degree, like the association, maintained discipline by their own organization and criticism; and the frank recognition of their rights in the labor groups inspired them with self-respect and respect for the association.

They were growing up with a wider knowledge and a larger experience of life and character; of the ways and means of business; of economic uses and the adaptation of means to ends in all the departments of industry and exchange than is attainable under other conditions. They acquired a knowledge of accounts as they did of the daily routine of business; as part of the duty of each member each day was to enter his time of labor in the appropriate book, knowing that his entry for himself was part of the cost of carrying on a department; and also, that what he received was a charge against himself and a credit to a department; and that the current results of business to each member and in each department was stated monthly.

They acquired a repose of manner, a facility of expression, a courteous bearing, not attainable except by large and constant social intercourse.

Indeed, to all the members, a term in the association was worth more as a means of education than a university course. There were always some inveterate readers who gathered up and disseminated items of news, information of inventions, politics, foreign affairs, etc. These were canvassed in the labor groups, as well as in the evening gatherings, and an item of information or an idea,

from whatever source, soon became public property. From the beginning we had many visitors. They came from other associations and from all parts of the country.

The celebrated Robert Owen spent several days with us. The sublime confidence of the humane, heroic old man was a study. He would live to see his Community system established and ignorance and poverty done away with. The Shakers made us friendly visits; the Oneida Community sent delegations on different occasions to observe our forms of organizations and note their working.

To many of the people who visited us from the cities and the watering places near us, the style of life and relations they saw was a revelation.

Laboring people, producers, working harmoniously together, enjoying a table, appointments, society and privileges, some of them not common among the wealthy and most of them beyond the reach of the ordinary family life, taught observers the value of the combined mode of living, as books and sermons could not teach.

The dominant idea of Personal Enfranchisement by means of social and industrial guaranties, was well established and maintained in organic institutions; and in all administrative measures, and in daily intercourse and usage, the invasion of personality or private right was avoided—carefully at first, afterward unconsciously, or at least instinctively.

With domestic harmony, entirely friendly relations with our neighbors and increasing production, the association had a promising future, except for its debt. This was the weight which, in time of misfortune, might sink us.

The disaster came. A fire destroyed the mill and its contents. No insurance was recovered, as the company holding the risk failed.

This loss involved the association in debt to the extent of \$30,000. With so greatly diminished resources the members did not dare undertake to carry the burden and make up the loss.

A dissolution was voted and the property sold for something over \$80,000. The debts and expenses of sale was paid and the remainder was divided to the stockholders. The associate existence closed in 1855-6. Inasmuch as various causes have been assigned for the dissolution of the association, some of which appeared in print, I append in the form of a note the following exposition, published in the *American Socialist* of May 22, 1879.

THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX.

CORRECTION OF AN ERROR.

The North American Phalanx, of New Jersey, did not die, as we may believe the testimony of the obituary notices that have been published, because it did not pay, nor because it could not replace the mill destroyed by fire, (for Horace Greeley offered to loan \$12,000 for this purpose) but because there was not sufficient power of agreement. We judge from the accounts we have read that its financial prospects were really better when the members concluded to dissolve than at any previous period of its history. Profitable branches of industry had been established, for the products of which there was an increasing market; the land was rising in value; and the debts of the Phalanx were no longer a source of embarrassment.

I copy the foregoing from the article: "Paying Communities not

always Successful," in the *American Socialist* of April 5th, and am called upon to publish a correction of the error contained in the statements respecting the pecuniary condition of the Phalanx, and which I have underlined. *

It is true that the industries and markets of the Phalanx were expanding and that the prospect of future growth and prosperity was generally encouraging; and it is but truth to say that, with only one exception, the Phalanx was a self-supporting commonwealth and accomplished positive results of good—social, economical and political—not attainable out of association.

It had abolished law suits within the society; it furnished no criminals nor paupers to tax the public; it had no children growing up without literary education, or ignorant of the ways and means of life; and the death-rate, taken for a period of thirteen years, was less than that of the Shakers.

As an experiment in compact, closely graded industrial and social organization, extended to agricultural and domestic labor, as well as to manufactures, education and amusements, it was successful.

As an experiment in societary relations, including the intimate association of families and the making equal to both sexes alike, all the industrial, social and political franchises, it was successful.

As a means of education and social culture, transcending any known out association, it was successful; and against the strongest prejudices it had won the confidence and respect of its neighbors and a tolerably large public. It was a complete commonwealth in itself; had all the interests and relations, all the questions of personal and public rights, of domestic and external affairs to consider and administer that any commonwealth has; and notwithstanding the dissolution of the corporate existence, an aroma of the old life still lingers about the old place, and pleasant memories of it will be cherished by the members and many others as long as they live.

In dealing with such questions as the relations of capitalist and laborer, including the rightful power attaching to non-resident ownership of stock, the basis of suffrage, the extent to which guaranty of support could be maintained, there was earnest and prolonged discussion; but within the first three years these questions were mostly settled. The basis of wages and dividends was revised yearly, and rates were modified to some extent from time to time; but I believe I am safe in saying that none of the conclusions determined on these questions, nor all of them together, would have been sufficient to break up the association.

Why, then, did the members deliberately vote a dissolution? I answer: Because of debt.

* NOTE.—At first the property was held by three trustees for the benefit of the association and new successions; subsequently by the general law of the state, authorizing the formation of corporations for manufacturing and other purposes, was amended to include agriculture. The association then filed articles of incorporation, and the trustees conveyed the property to the corporation.

Applications for membership were admitted by general ballot, after a probationary term of one year, during which time they received the primary award for labor, and living at cost, the same as members, but did not share profit and loss.

The exception stated above is that the association had not the control of its financial destiny; it never had.

The Phalanx started with less than \$7,000 cash capital; there remained unpaid \$9,000 of the original mortgage; a new engine and boiler had been put into the mill; and the mill was filled full of grain, mostly wheat, purchased on a credit of three months. In a few hours one Sunday morning, late in 1855, most of this property was reduced to ashes; leaving us with a debt of \$30,000 to provide for, and with almost no resources except agriculture to meet early maturing obligations; for in the mill was centered our working capital, and the orchards, except the peach, had not yet borne fruit. The mill was partially insured, but who insures the underwriters? The company holding the risk failed, and so the loss was total, except a damaged engine and boiler.

A strenuous effort was made to borrow money for rebuilding the mill. To the Shakers at New Lebanon we made two propositions, one of which was for a loan for a term of years; the other was to sell them about half our land. Both propositions were declined. Brother Evans will remember the event.

If the debt could have been reduced about one half by the sale of half the domain, we might possibly have gone on in a crippled condition for an indefinite period. If a loan for rebuilding the mill had been effected, the debt would have been increased to \$42,000. To pay installments off so large a debt and yearly interest of \$2,500 would have been beyond our ability. Our resources could not be made to justify the undertaking. But we had not even this option, for a large part of the debt was due to the farmers of the neighborhood and required provision for payment at intervals during the next three months.

So, after exhaustive efforts to avoid breaking up and exhaustive discussion of possibilities, the final measure of a dissolution of the association and division of the property was carried by a vote of the members.

We raised on mortgage bonds, mostly in our county, a loan of \$20,000, discharged the floating debt; mapped the domain into parcels of various sizes, from 150-acre farms to lots of five acres; sold out the entire estate, fixed and movable, at auction; paid all debts and the expenses of sale and settlement, and divided to the stockholders 57½ per cent of their investments.

It is true, also, that a non-resident stock-holding interest used the stress of the occasion to urge the measure of dissolution. In the ordinary course of affairs this interest could have been controlled as it had been; but in view of the insufficient resources to carry the burden of so large a debt, the stoutest yielded to the inevitable, although voting against dissolution to the last.

To many of the members, probably to most of them, the surrender of the organization and the life it housed, was one of the capital trials of life.

CHARLES SEARS.

Silksville, Kansas, May 10, 1879.

Finis 